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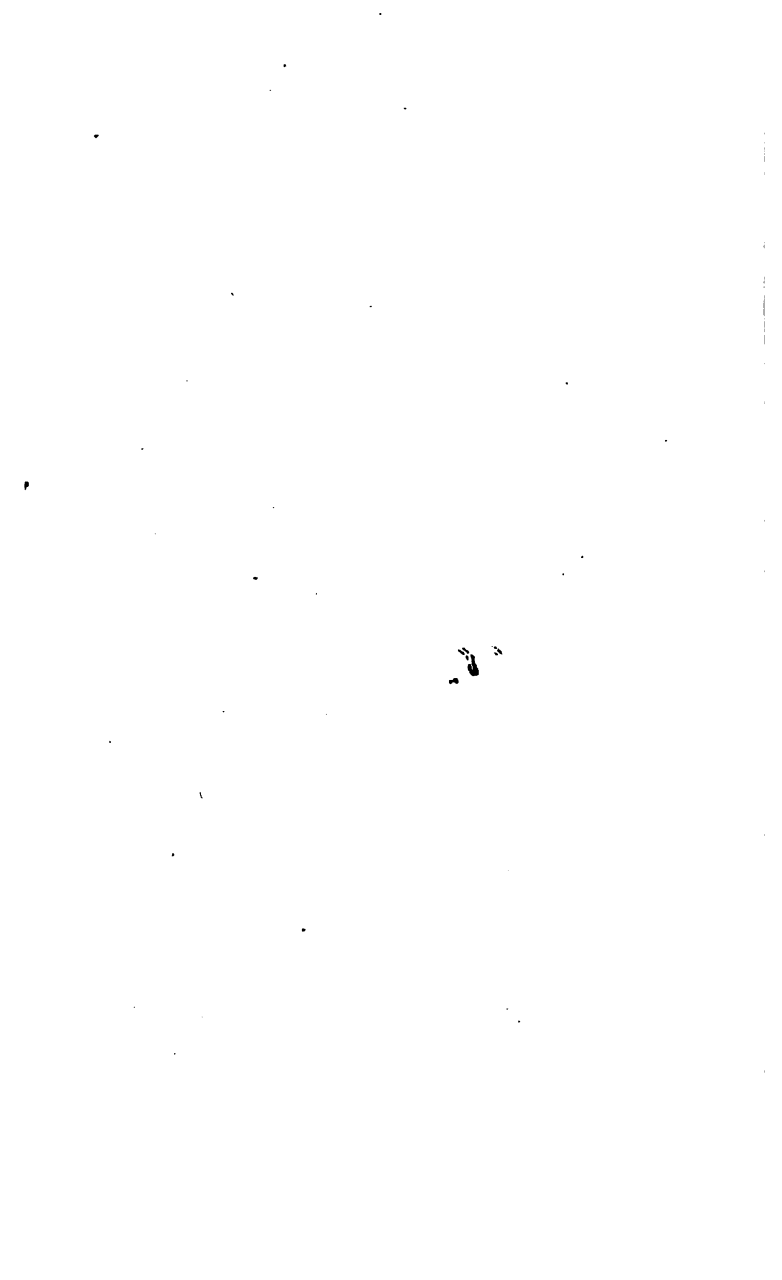


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**BOOKS FOR THE RAIL,
THE ROAD, AND THE FIRESIDE.**

IV.

THE

BONAPARTE PLOT:

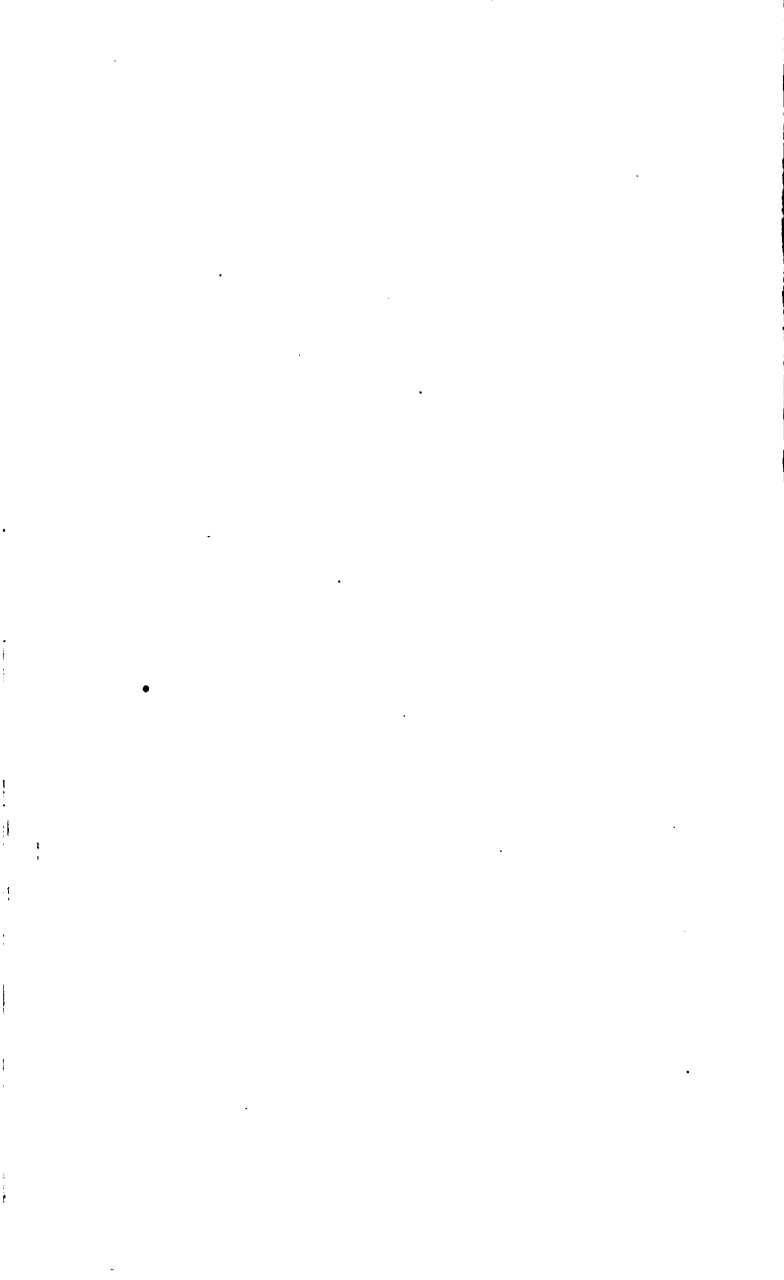
**WHY IT WAS ENGAGED IN,
AND
HOW IT WAS ACCOMPLISHED;**

AN OFFICIAL NARRATIVE AND JUSTIFICATION.

97.

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THE BONAPARTE PLOT.

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THE
BONAPARTE PLOT:

WHY IT WAS ENGAGED IN,
AND
HOW IT WAS ACCOMPLISHED.

AN OFFICIAL NARRATIVE AND JUSTIFICATION OF THE
EVENTS OF DECEMBER, 1851.

Adolphe
By A. GRANIER DE CASSAGNAC.

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LONDON:
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P R E F A C E.

THE following pages comprise an unabridged translation of a very remarkable pamphlet which has recently appeared in Paris, and which has there met with a most enormous sale. The author of it, a distinguished Parisian journalist, is known to be an emissary of the French President's, and was the party employed by him to disseminate the first apparently truthful statement respecting the conspiracy which Louis Napoleon alleged had been entered into by numerous members of the Assembly with a view of effecting his deposition from the Presidential office. That this official narrative and justification of the events of December is worthy of being reproduced in an English form may be gathered from the following extract from the *Times*, which a few days since reviewed the French edition of this pamphlet.

“The pen of an able writer has been successfully employed to illustrate, if not to justify, the re-

markable proceedings by which Louis Napoleon accomplished the overthrow of the Constitution he had sworn to maintain. M. Granier de Casagnac has published a narrative of the conspiracy and its execution, which may probably be received for an approximation to the actual truth as near as we are likely to obtain. Of the motives which originally induced the Government to misrepresent the circumstances of the transaction many are now past, and the same security which suggested the release of the Parliamentary captives will now permit a genuine history of their capture. A more curious document has seldom been given to the world; and in perusing it we seem to have fallen upon the details of some old Genoese or Venetian plot, where one faction of the Senate or nobility conspired against the other to break forth in the dead of night, to seize the galleys, to storm the palaces of political foes, and to announce to the citizens in the morning that a revolution had been effected during their slumbers."

A FULL AND AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT
OF THE
EVENTS OF DECEMBER, 1851.

I.

To this very hour does the general astonishment continue which was excited by the intolerable situation wherein France found herself plunged through the systematic hostility of the Assembly and the barefaced cabals promoted by the partisans of a former order of things.

Trade and labour, and the conduct of government, had become impracticable. Agriculture, industry, commerce, the landed interest, constituted authorities, the social system itself—all seemed at their last gasp.

As for the railways, the Assembly put a stop to their construction by ceaseless delays and by systems incapable of being carried into effect.

How could the authorities exert those strong and only means possessed by them for the suppression of Socialism? They were held in check by the Assembly by the refusal of a law for the cashiering of unworthy mayors. As regarded the gratitude and consideration due to the army's ancient services, the Assembly refused to acknowledge them, by rejecting the petition, modest as it was, tendered with a view to aid the glorious state of privation endured by our old soldiers.

Or how revise a senseless constitution that handed over France, bound hand and foot, to the Communist

and demagogue, when the Assembly rejected such revision, although demanded by petitions to which above 2,000,000 signatures were affixed, by an immense majority of the conseils d'arrondissement, and by eighty conseils general of departments out of eighty-six ?

II.

Such a situation was intolerable : to bring it to an end became indispensable.

On this all parties were agreed. Ere they set out to proceed to their respective departments, a considerable number of conservative representatives, when waiting on the President to take their leave, conjured him to dissolve the Assembly before they returned.

At the same period the party termed the *fusion* party set on foot overtures to the President, either with the view of aiding him to save society or to re-unite themselves to him for the maintenance of order should it become indispensable to have recourse to a *coup d'état*.

A few days prior to the meeting again of the Assembly, representatives belonging to the Red and Socialist party caused a proposition to be submitted to the President to the effect that he should rely upon them, and select a Minister from their ranks.

To crown all, during the evening of the 1st of December, a proposal to co-operate with Louis Napoleon was brought to him in the name of the heads of the Legitimist party.

Thus it appears that all parties without exception were of opinion that the position was no longer tenable, and each offered its aid to the President in order to facilitate his extrication therefrom—only each respective party wished the President to rely on it, and it exclusively, and Louis Napoleon chose to rely on France alone.

III.

The President of the Republic, beset by two conspiracies, and compelled by his responsibility as head of the

State, was no longer a free agent; all that remained to him was to make choice of the peculiar species of devotion requisite for the preservation of France and Europe.

Foremost amongst the rest was a vast organisation of brigands, acting under the directions of secret societies, and sheltered behind the flag of what were termed *Montagnards*, the larger portion of whom were most certainly in utter ignorance of the nature and extent of the abominations for which they served as shield. Government was well aware of each mesh of this net, and held in its hands the threads of this Communist plot. The concise and circumstantial reports furnished by the prefectures and courts of justice left not a shade of doubt as to projected acts of incendiarism, rapine, and massacre which the weakness of the public authorities would have infallibly caused to explode in the month of May, 1852, and which, moreover, might have burst forth at any crisis that should chance to take place.

Furthermore, there existed a conspiracy, hatched by the *anciens partis* in coalition, against the President of the Republic, with the design of working his overthrow, and substituting in his place the dictatorship of the Assembly.

Plans, projects, and persons connected with this conspiracy were well known to Louis Napoleon; and when we denounced it in unequivocal terms in the *Constitutionnel* of the 24th November, the conspirators, although mentioned by name, dared not summon us to appear before the bar of the Assembly, because they surmised, and not without some show of reason, that we should have appeared furnished with dates, facts, and documents; and that, instead of standing up in our own defence, we should have become accusers in turn. So far had this conspiracy of the *anciens partis* progressed, that amongst M. Baze's papers were found organic decrees of the new Government, a distribution of the principal offices, and preparations for a general armament, based upon the assumed co-operation of the 10th legion of the National Guard of Paris.

IV.

It is clear, then, that this Constitution, for which Parliamentarians professed so much hypocritical veneration, was by it threatened with speedy ruin; and the President, on whose shoulders rested so heavy a responsibility, could no longer hesitate.

And what should have withheld him? The utter inability of the several parties to effect the salvation of France was notorious, and their coalition would not have outlived their triumph. Legality, by weakening the constituted authorities, by imparting strength to Communism, and by impeding the due course of the administration and laws, aggravated each day the perils that menaced the social well-being. The President was still master of his movements; but a few short months, and it would have been too late alike for him and for all beside.

With such dangers staring him in the face, with a lively sense of the confidence of those six millions who had intrusted their destinies into his charge, and of the duties imposed on him by that confidence, he resolved to save the country, well aware as he was that he gave his head, in token of his loyalty, to the passions of the present, his memory to the judgment of the future.

It was immediately following the act of hostility on the part of the questors that the President concocted measures for the decisive struggle evidently impending. Three individuals were in his confidence as to his intentions—M. de Saint-Arnaud, Minister of War; M. de Morny, Representative of the People; and M. de Maupas, Prefect of Police. Louis Napoleon imparted to them the dangers that threatened society, and which each day grew stronger; he developed the plans that he had devised for warding them off, and called on them to co-operate with him. All three engaged their word to that effect; M. de Morny taking upon himself the political responsibility in his capacity as Minister for the Home Department; M. de Saint Arnaud, as related to

military operations ; M. de Maupas, as regarded the arrangements of the Police.

During upwards of a fortnight, these three persons settled, in concert with the President, all the details of this stupendous achievement, unparalleled in difficulty, ability or greatness even by the 18th Brumaire ; and its most minor particulars were provided for, arranged, combined with the minutest detail, and prepared in such marvellous secrecy that friends the most to be relied on, and agents the most essential, had not the remotest suspicion of what was in meditation until the eleventh hour that preceded the execution of the part to be played.

V.

It was evidently a primary condition of success that the measures necessary to be taken should be executed simultaneously ; and the principal measures amounted to four—the arrest of all guilty or dangerous persons, publication of official documents, investment and occupation of the seat of the Assembly, and distribution of the troops along all the points where it was deemed necessary to station them.

A quarter after six was the hour fixed upon for the simultaneous execution of each and all of these measures.

It would have been ill-judged to have suffered the plan to have gained wind by being carried out in detail ; to be made public, and to insure the end in view, the most entire unity of action and design was indispensable. At a quarter after six the arrests were effected ; at half-past the troops were at their posts ; at seven the decree for dissolution and the proclamations were despatched from the Prefecture of Police to cover the walls of Paris.

Punctually at half-past six, M. de Morny took possession of the Ministry of the Home Department, accompanied by 250 Chasseurs de Vincennes, and placed in M. de Thorigny's hands a letter, wherein the President

thanked him for former good services, and informed him of the decisive act which he had resolved on.

All things relating to the printing and publication of the decree for the dissolution of the Assembly, the proclamation to the army, and the appeal to the people, had been intrusted to M. de Béville, Staff Lieutenant-Colonel and orderly officer attached to the President. A requisite number of workmen was ordered to the national printing-office; and the head of that department was, under some specious pretext, despatched to his post precisely at eleven o'clock. As it struck twelve, a company of *gendarmerie mobile*, called out to protect the printing-office on account of some supposed danger, entered the court. Sentries were immediately stationed at every door and window; and it was only then, after recourse to these precautionary measures, that M. de Béville produced the documents intrusted to him, the printing of which, and their subsequent delivery at the Prefecture of Police, he superintended in person throughout.

VI.

Those whom the police were instructed to take into custody formed two classes, viz., the representatives more or less implicated in flagrant conspiracy, the heads of secret societies and commanders of barricades, ever ready to execute orders emanating from factions. Both parties had been closely watched and never lost sight of during a whole fortnight by invisible agents, yet not a single agent amongst them all suspected the actual object in view that had called him into action, each having received different and imaginary orders.

The entire number of individuals to be consigned to custody amounted to seventy-eight, eighteen of whom were representatives, and the remaining sixty heads of secret societies and barricades.

The 800 *sergents de ville* and safety-brigades had been ordered to the Prefecture of Police on the 1st December at eleven at night, under pretext of the presence of

London refugees in Paris. At half-past three on the morning of the 2nd, the peace-officers and the forty commissaries of police were summoned. At half-past four all parties had arrived, and were placed in small bodies in different rooms, in order to afford no opportunity for putting any questions to each other.

At five o'clock the commissaries went down one by one into the Prefect's room, and received verbally from him full and unreserved confidence of all in contemplation, together with all requisite information, warrants, and orders. The greatest care and discrimination had been exercised in the selection of these men, with an especial view to the object they had in hand; and one and all departed upon their mission full of zeal and ardour, and thoroughly determined to do their duty whatever might befall. Nor did any prove false to such determination. A considerable number of vehicles were stationed in detached groups upon the quays and on all the approaches to the Prefecture of Police, so as not to excite attention.

It had been arranged by the Prefect of Police and the Minister of War that the various arrests should be effected a quarter of an hour prior to the arrival of the troops at the appointed spots. The time named for the arrests was a quarter after six, and the agents had received orders to be at the door of the individuals designated to them at five minutes after six. All this was carried into effect with surprising punctuality, nor did any arrest require upwards of twenty minutes.

VII.

Of these arrests some offer traits so characteristic that we do not deem it unworthy to record those the most striking.

Every detail respecting them that we are about to chronicle may be scrupulously relied on, as they have been extracted from official documents.

The most important of them all, that of General Chan

garnier, had been intrusted to two men gifted with no ordinary degree of energy, the Commissary of Police Leras, and Captain Baudinet of the Republican Guard. They were assisted by fifteen picked agents, thirty Republican Guards, and a picket of ten mounted men.

At five minutes past six the Commissary of Police rang at the door of the general's house, Rue du Faubourg-St.-Honoré, No. 3. The porter, after the customary question, "Who's there?" and the answer, "Open the door; we want to speak to you," refused compliance. This left no doubt as to the porter being on his guard; and the agent nearest the door received orders, delivered in an under-tone, to continue holding him in converse, so as to detain him at the door, and prevent him from communicating with the general.

On one side of the door, and in the same house, there is a grocer's shop, and some customers were already standing at the counter. It occurred to the commissary that the grocer's apartments must have some communication with the court-yard. He entered the shop, demanded in authoritative tones the key of such communication, obtained it, and thus, accompanied by his subordinates, obtained access into the house. The porter meanwhile had given the alarm by vehemently ringing a number of bells suspended in the general's apartments, and his servant was encountered on the landing-place on the first-floor, immediately above the *entresol*. The key of the room, which he held in his hand, was wrenched from him. The commissary opened the door and entered.

At the same time a bedroom door was opened from within, and disclosed the general in his shirt, barefoot, and a pistol in either hand.

The commissary seized hold of his arms, and struck down his weapons, saying, "What are you about, general? Your life is in no danger; wherefore defend it?"

The general remained calm, surrendered his pistols, and said, "I am at your orders; I am going to dress myself."

The general was dressed by his servant, and observed

to the commissary, "I know M. de Maupas to be a gentleman; have the kindness to tell him that I trust to his courtesy not to deprive me of my domestic, whose services are indispensable to me." This request was at once acceded to.

During the journey, and whilst in the carriage, General Changarnier discoursed of the event of the day. "The President's re-election," said he, "was certain, there was no necessity for him to have recourse to a *coup d'état*; he is giving himself much needless trouble." And he subsequently added, "When the President embarks in a foreign war, he will be glad to seek me out and intrust me with the command of an army."

VIII.

Nor did the arrest of General Cavaignac require more time or trouble. Commissary Colin, having effected an entrance into the house, Rue du Helder, 17, the following dialogue ensued between him and the porter:—

"Which are General Cavaignac's rooms?" "He is not within." "He is within, and I know it, and speak with him I positively must." "He is not within, moreover he is asleep. You come too early in the day; his rooms are on the *entresol*."

The door was knocked at, and the general inquired for. A female voice returned for answer in the first instance:

"He is not within." A moment afterwards the commissary rung again; and a man's voice inquired, "Who's there?" "Commissary of Police! Open in the name of the law." "I shall not open!" "Then, general, I shall force the door." The general then opened it himself. The commissary said to him, "General, you are my prisoner! Resistance is useless; I have taken all due measures. I have been ordered to make sure of your person by virtue of a warrant which I will read to you." "It is needless!"

The general showed signs of exasperation. He smote

with his clenched fist upon a marble table, and vented his wrath in a volley of abuse.

When intreated by the commissary to moderate his feelings, the general looked him fixedly in the face, and said, "What! arrest me? I insist upon knowing your names." "We will not conceal them from you, general; but not just at present. You must dress yourself and follow us."

The general became calm, and said, "Tis well, sir, I am ready to follow you. Give me time to dress myself, and withdraw your men." He asked to be permitted to write, which was granted.

When the general was in readiness he said to the commissary, "Let us set off, sir; the only favour I ask you is to let me be accompanied to my place of destination by you alone." To this the commissary consented.

During the journey the general appeared absorbed in deep and serious thought, only interrupted by these words: "Am I the only one arrested?" "General, it is not for me to answer such a question." "Whither do you conduct me?" "To Mazas."

IX.

Upon the appearance of Police Commissary Blanchet at the house inhabited by General de Lamoricière, Rue Las Cases, 11, the porter refused to give a light, or to state which were the rooms occupied by the general.

The police-commissary rang a bell on the first-floor, a servant came out and closed the door abruptly. However, he adopted another line, and returned holding a lamp in his hand. On catching sight of the commissary's scarf he at once extinguished the light, and betook himself to a back staircase, shouting, "Thieves! thieves!" He was captured by one of the *sergents de ville* posted in the street, in front of the house. He then submitted and conducted the commissary to his master's room.

At first the general did not utter a single word, but afterwards, casting his eyes towards the chimney-piece,

inquired of his servant what had become of the money he had placed there. The latter having assured him in reply that it was all safe, the general called for his clothes, and proceeded to dress himself. The commissary said to him, "Sir, the remark which just fell from you hurts my feelings." "And what assurance have I that you are not evil-doers?" was the general's reply; whereupon the commissary pointed to his scarf, and the general said no more.

M. Blanchet said, "General, I have received orders from the Prefect of Police to treat you with all possible deference. I am, accordingly, desirous to show you every attention in my power; and if you will but give me your word of honour that you will make no attempt to escape, I shall consider it my duty to place you in a private carriage, with none but myself to keep watch upon you." "I give you nothing, I answer for nothing. Deal with me as you will."

He was thereupon conducted to a hackney-coach with an escort of agents.

As they reached the post of the Legion of Honour, the general put his head out of window and attempted to harangue the troops. The commissary did not give him time to utter a single word, but intimated to him that he should feel himself called upon to resort to rigorous measures did he repeat his attempt. The general answered, "Act as you please."

On his arrival at the prison, Mazas, the general displayed more calmness. He requested the commissary not to seize his valuable weapons, and to send him some cigars and the History of the French Revolution. The commissary complied with his request.

X.

General Leflô, who lived at the Questure, was in bed. Commissary Bertoglio awoke him, and produced his warrant. He arose and dressed himself, giving vent at the same time to threats against the commissary, and to

insulting language directed against the President, "Napoleon would effect a *coup d'état*! We'll shoot him at Vincennes. As for you, we'll not send you to Nouka-Hiva; we'll shoot you along with him." The commissary replied that resistance was out of the question; that state of siege was the order of the day, and that he knew full well the consequences of such a crisis.

As he stepped into the conveyance he addressed himself to the colonel of the 42nd, and endeavoured to harangue the soldiers. Colonel Espinasse compelled him to keep silence, and the soldiers brought their bayonets to a level with his chest.

From the Assembly to Mazas General Leflô uttered not a single word.

XI.

General Bedeau lived in a very large house, full of staircases, in Rue de l'Université, 50. Commissary Hubaut, junior, was in ignorance as to the particular flight of stairs leading to the general's rooms, and on which floor those rooms were situated. Some skill was required in dealing with the porter. The commissary entered by himself. The porter refused to inform him as to the locality of the general's rooms, saying, "I have never seen you at the general's before; these are times when one is obliged to keep a good look-out for those who prowl abroad by night." He yielded at length, and guided the commissary forthwith.

The servant hastened to the door, which he held half-opened. The commissary pushed it entirely open, and lost no time in availing himself of the entrance. The servant fled affrighted, followed by the commissary, who, once in the general's presence, produced his warrant.

The general was thunder-struck; but soon recovering from his surprise, he began to protest, declaring that the Constitution was violated, and telling the commissary, "You are committing an illegal act. You cannot arrest me, since you are unable to prove any overt act."

He next proceeded to affirm that he had not lent himself to any conspiracy, and demanded to know the name of the commissary. He told him that he had seen honourable mention made of him in the papers, and that his amazement was thereby much enhanced by the fact of his arresting General Bedeau, Vice-president of the Assembly, a soldier who had bled for the cause of order, one who well knew how to risk his life, and who could, ere this, had he been so minded, have worked the downfall of certain individuals.

The commissary informed him, in reply, that he had to carry his warrant into effect without discussion; and if the general were anxious to risk his life, he was equally determined to risk his own in the due fulfilment of his duty; that he had better submit without show of violence, else he should feel called upon to have recourse to extreme measures.

He bade the general rise from his bed. The general dressed himself with tardy deliberation enough to drive a man mad. When on the point of departure, the general's features clouded over. He placed his back against the mantel-piece and exclaimed, "Now, I will not go. I will not stir from hence unless you drag me forth as though I were a malefactor—unless you dare lay hands on my collar, on me the Vice-President of the National Assembly."

The commissary said, "You will acknowledge that I have not, whilst in the execution of my orders, in any wise transgressed the respect due to you?" "I will, sir," replied the general; whereupon the commissary laid hands upon him. The general resisted to the utmost, and was carried to the vehicle in waiting. He shouted, "Treason! To arms! I am Vice-President of the Assembly, and I am arrested!" But it was all to no purpose; the coach drove off, followed by the *sergents de ville*.

On his arrival at Mazas he addressed a file of Republican Guards, who closed their ears to his words.

At the office General Bedeau met Generals Leflô, Changarnier and Cavaignac, the latter of whom he embraced.

XII.

Colonel Charras, who resided Rue du Faubourg-Saint-Honoré, 14, at first refused admission; but seeing his door battered to pieces, said, "Hold! I'll open!" and open it he did forthwith.

Commissary Courteille told him of the warrant against him. The colonel said, "I foresaw it right well; I expected as much. Escape was easy, but I would not quit my post. I thought that this would have taken place two days earlier, and thinking so I had loaded my pistol; but I have withdrawn the charge:" and he pointed to a double-barrelled pistol which lay on a piece of furniture. The commissary at once took possession of it. "Had you come on that day," said the colonel, "I would have blown your brains out."

He entered the carriage without offering the slightest resistance. During the journey he requested to know whither he was being conducted. As the commissary hesitated in his reply, he said, "Are you taking me to be shot?" The commissary then told him that he was conducting him to Mazas.

When arrived at the prison, M. Charras exhibited much warmth, refusing to give his proper description, and requiring *representative of the people* to be appended to the document verifying his incarceration.

XIII.

Commissioner Boudrot forced his way into the bedroom of the celebrated M. Charles Legrange, resident Rue Casimir Périer, 27, at the very moment that he was getting up in order to ascertain the motive for the cries of terror uttered by his maid-servant, who had opened the door.

M. Legrange protested; he said that it was a violation of the Constitution, that a single pistol-shot fired by him from the window would suffice to summon the people to take arms; that if he chose to defend himself he could kill them, and that it would be necessary to drag him from home by main force.

Seizure was made of a large number of political papers, a brace of pistols, a muskét, a pair of bullet-moulds, some cartridges, three daggers, and a cavalry sabre numbered 478, and identified by Quartermaster Kerkan of the Republican Guard, as one which belonged to him, and which had been stolen on the 24th February from the barracks where he was then quartered.

During the journey from his residence to Mazas, M. Charles Legrange repeated several times, "It is a bold game, but well played."

At Mazas, M. Charles Legrange, addressing M. de Lamoricière, observed to him, "Well, general, we thought to have done for him; but by — he has turned the tables upon us!"

XIV.

M. Greppo, the zealous Socialist, resident Rue de Pon-thieu, 15, had a complete arsenal underneath his pillow; a huge battle-axe, whose edge had been recently sharpened, two daggers, a loaded pistol, and a magnificent red cap, bran new.

The arrival of Commissioner Gronfier and his agents completely paralysed M. Greppo. When questioned concerning the articles found under his pillow, he answered that he had purchased them *because he felt a strong predilection for the navy.*

Madame Greppo, who is a most energetic woman, addressed her husband in terms of the warmest remonstrance. "Can it be possible," she exclaimed, "to possess so little resolution, and to suffer oneself to be arrested thus without offering the slightest resistance?"

Alas! neither these words nor the sight of the battle-axe could revive M. Greppo's ardour. "How could he possibly have resisted?" writes an eye-witness. "*Certain little natural infirmities* compelled M. Greppo" (*M. Greppo fut saisi d'un dérangement auquel il dut satisfaire*).

XV.

The reader may perhaps be anxious to learn the particulars of M. Baze's arrest. It took place without any formidable impediment, although there was a struggle. M. Baze resisted *unquibus et rostro*, after the fashion of one of these members of the law termed by Petronius *vultures togati*.

XVI.

When Police-Commissary Hubaut, sen., found his way into M. Thiers' bedroom, Place Saint George, No. 1, M. Thiers was sound asleep. The commissary drew aside the curtains of crimson damask, with white muslin lining, woke up M. Thiers, and informed him of his calling and commission.

M. Thiers started up in bed, raised his hand to his eyes, over which a white cotton cap was drawn, and said, "What is the matter?" "I am about to search your apartments; but compose yourself, no harm will be done to you, your life is in no danger." This last assurance appeared very necessary, inasmuch as M. Thiers exhibited great consternation.

"But what mean you to do? Do you know that I am a representative?" "Yes, but I cannot discuss the point with you, I am merely to obey orders." "But what you are now doing may cost you your head." "Nothing shall hinder me from accomplishing my duty." "But you are making a *coup d'état*?" "I cannot answer your arguments, but have the kindness to rise." "Do you know whether I am the only one in this present predicament?—are my colleagues similarly treated?" "I do not know, sir."

M. Thiers rose and slowly dressed himself, rejecting the assistance of the agents. Suddenly he said to the commissary, "Supposing, sir, that I were to blow your brains out?" "I believe you incapable of such an act, Monsieur Thiers; but at all events I have taken every

precaution; I am at no loss for the means to prevent the execution of your threat." "But do you know what law is? are you aware that you are violating the Constitution?" "I have received no instructions to hold an argument with you; besides, you are by far my superior in intellect. All I have to do is to act in obedience to my orders, as I should have acted in obedience to yours when you were Minister for the Home Department."

The search made in M. Thiers' study led to the discovery of no political correspondence. Upon the commissary expressing his surprise at this circumstance, M. Thiers replied that he had for some considerable period been in the habit of forwarding his political correspondence to England, and that nothing would be found on his premises.

When requested to walk down stairs and set off, M. Thiers became agitated and exhibited symptoms of fear and hesitation. He was allowed to believe that he was to be brought before the Prefect of Police. His alarm increased as he observed the direction taken by the vehicle, and he endeavoured during the whole of the way, by specious argument and denunciatory language, to deter the agents from performing their duty.

Arrived at the prison Mazas, M. Thiers requested to know if he might have his coffee as usual. Every possible attention was conferred upon him. His courage, it must be admitted, entirely forsook him when in prison, and his firmness was pretty much on a par with that of M. Greppo.

Not included, in consequence of instructions from high quarters, in the number of those removed to Ham, M. Thiers was re-conducted home, there to remain for the time being. In obedience to subsequent orders, M. Thiers was to be escorted to the right bank of the Rhine at the Kell bridge.

Veidenbach, a peace-officer, waited upon M. Thiers at his own house on the 8th of December, at six o'clock in the evening, and took him into his custody. M. Mignet and another friend accompanied M. Thiers as

far as the Strasburg railway-station; and M. Grangier de la Marinière accompanied him to Kell.

Whilst on the point of setting out, and during the earlier part of the journey, M. Thiers wept abundantly. Tears, just, noble, and prolific, if shed in expiation of so many revolutionary doctrines and so many acts of anarchy, but tears of bitterness indeed if provoked from the sheer spite of jealous and insatiable ambition fallen from an unhopèd-for pinnacle, without dignity and without renown.

On their arrival at Kell, M. Grangier de la Marinière handed over to peace-officer Viedenbach a letter of protest and another of thanks for the attention shown to M. Thiers. M. Thiers announced his intention of going to Frankfort and from thence to Dresden, where he expected to meet an old friend, and in his company he should by way of amusement wile away the time by painting pictures.

XVII.

Whilst the arrests of the representatives were going on, the most dangerous chiefs of secret societies and barricades were taken in their beds without the slightest difficulty. Arrests of this description are still vigorously continued, and have already been attended with great results. The public scarcely knows these daring, restless enemies of society by name, and we will only enumerate such as are held in highest repute in the realms of riot.

Messrs. Grignon, Henry Gustave

„ Stevenot

„ Michel

„ Artaud, Denis-Claude

„ Geniller, Guillaume

„ Philippe, Alphonse

„ Bregnet, Armand

„ Delpech, Célestin

„ Gabriel, Nicholas-François

„ Schmidt, Jacques-Frédéric

„ Baune, brother of the Re-

presentative

„ Vabenter

Messrs. Mounier, Arsène

„ Buisson, Alexandre

„ Mussot, Pierre

„ Bonvallet, Théodore - Jacques

„ Choquin, Etienne - Simon

Nicolas

„ Guiterie, Charles

„ Billotte, Léon Joseph

„ Voinier, Aimé

„ Thomas

„ Curnel

„ Boireau

Messrs. Houl, Michel-Abraham	Messrs. Crouse, Charles-Joseph-
" Cellier, Charles	Albert
" Jacotier, Louis-François	" Baillet
" Kuch, Marie-Alphonse	" Noguez, Antoine-Denis
" Six, Théodore	" Lucas, Louis-Julien
" Brun, François	" Lassere, Jean-Isidore
" Lemeale	" Cahaigne
" Malapert, Pierre Antoine	" Magen, Hippolyte
" Hiblach	" Polino, Antoine-Charles
" Lecomte, Minor	

XVIII.

The mission intrusted to the army, although of an essentially delicate nature, could leave no doubt in the minds either of the President of the Republic or the Minister of War.

And what was, in fact, required of it by Louis Napoleon Bonaparte?

Was it a throne? By no means. The triumph of such or such political party? By no means.

Louis Napoleon Bonaparte called upon the army to protect the liberty of all France against the attempts of factions, and to maintain order in the streets until 10,000,000 of electors, solemnly consulted, should have expressed their wishes by their vote.

A mission so simple, so noble, and so loyal, intrusted to an army alike admirable for its discipline as its patriotism, could not fail of being eagerly accepted and strictly performed.

It was not until half-past three, A.M., just three hours before the moment fixed upon for its execution, that General Magnan, commander-in-chief of the army of Paris, was summoned to attend the Minister of War, and at the same time received from him an explanation of the measures to be adopted, and the orders necessary to insure their being carried out. General Magnan had been previously in the secret of the acts in contemplation; the necessity for having recourse to such extremities had been made clear to him, and he only requested not to be called upon until the time was come

for him to mount his horse. Such are the good sense and discipline of the army of Paris, that every regiment was at its post to the very moment.

Colonel Espinasse, commanding the 42nd Line belonging to Ripert's brigade, was ordered to invest and occupy the palace of the Legislative Assembly. The Assembly was guarded on that day by a battalion of the 42nd under Lieutenant-colonel Niel, of the 44th Line, who commanded in the name of the Assembly. Colonel Espinasse, a most highly-gifted officer and of unflinching resolution, enjoys one of the most brilliant reputations in the army. He distinguished himself specially at the siege of Rome, and very recently in Kabylie during various hard-contested battles, where he commanded the rear-guard.

XIX.

At a quarter after six Colonel Espinasse arrived at the gate of the Assembly opening upon the Place de Bourgogne, this gate he ordered to be opened, and commanded the attendance of the major, whilst his troops took possession of the court yards. The major was relieved from his duty by his superior officer in the usual form, and the battalion of the guard was marched back to barracks. Three police-commissaries, each accompanied by ten agents, entered the legislative precincts precisely as the 42nd marched in with orders to arrest the questors.

The Assembly was surrounded and taken possession of without the slightest difficulty at half-past six. M. de Persigny, to whom the secret had been confided, and whose total disregard of self is only equalled by his devotion, was present during this delicate and important operation, and then went to the Elysée to communicate the result.

To bring at once to a close all matters connected with the Palace of the Assembly, we must here state that, owing to some mistake or some misapprehension, about sixty representatives were permitted to enter one by one

by a little door in the Rue de Bourgogne, fronting the Rue de Lille. These deputies assembled in the Salle des Conférences, and became somewhat turbulent. When intimation of their presence reached the Minister for the Home Department, orders were given to compel them to quit the palace forthwith. Commander Saucerotte, of the Municipal Guard, to whom the execution of the order was confided, preceded such execution by delivering a very neat little speech. The president, Dupin, in his turn made a speech in these terms: "Gentlemen, the Constitution is violated, right is on our side, but might is against us. I recommend you to retire, and have the honour to bid you all farewell."

As these words did not seem to produce any decided influence upon those assembled, the commander declared that he would call in his men, whereupon the representatives withdrew.

All these measures had been executed with so much promptitude, so much unanimity of action, with such precision, and such calm, that Paris woke on the 2nd of December staggering under the immense and irresistible weight of an act thoroughly carried out by the wisdom and courage of some for the interests and safety of all.

But one cry was heard: "*Well played!*"

The first and universal impression was a favourable one; because the President had displayed much cleverness, much resolution, and much strength combined.

None bestowed a further thought upon the Constitution, for all had long been accustomed to despise it. None cared to inquire after the representatives, for all had long been accustomed to regard them with contempt. The President's energetic act was generally accepted, with this sole reservation, "*Will it prove successful?*"

After the first surprise had somewhat subsided, the whole population went forth in search of news, and thronged round the hand-bills which a number of agents were busily engaged in posting upon the walls.

The first that appeared was the following decree,

which at once announced and contained a summary of the grand act of the 2nd December.

IN THE NAME OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC DECREES :

Art. 1. The National Assembly is dissolved.

Art. 2. Universal suffrage is re-established. The law of the 31st of May is repealed.

Art. 3. The French people is summoned to its respective colleges from the 14th of Dec. until the 21st of Dec. following.

Art. 4. The state of siege is decreed throughout the whole of the first military division.

Art. 5. The Council of State is dissolved.

Art. 6. The Minister of the Interior is charged with the execution of the present decree.

Done at the Palace of the Elysée, the 2nd of Dec. 1851.

LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

DE MORNAY, Minister of the Interior.

XX.

As we have before stated, no one regretted the Assembly, still less did any person care for the Council of State, which had become the mere subsidiary arena for parliamentary intrigues. The country at large was called upon freely to pronounce its own destiny ; the feeling was prevalent that there was now an end imposed upon the trickery and devices of intriguing committees, and that France was on the verge of shaking herself free from the egotistical domination of parties.

Next followed this admirable proclamation to the army, which now became the voucher for the law, and the safeguard of society.

SOLDIERS !

Exult in your mission ! You will save the country ; for I reckon upon you, not for the violation of the laws, but to cause to be respected that first law of the country, national sovereignty, of which I am the legitimate representative. Long time have you suffered, like myself, from the obstacles opposed alike to the good that I wished to do you and the demonstrations of your sympathy in my favour. These obstacles are overthrown. The Assembly attempted an attack upon that authority delegated to me by the whole nation ; it has ceased to exist.

I appeal loyally to the people and army, and I tell them : Or give me the means of insuring your prosperity, or choose another in my stead.

In 1830 as in 1848, you have been treated as though vanquished. After

casting a stigma upon your heroic disinterestedness, your sympathies and your wishes have remained not only unconsulted but treated with scorn, and yet you are the *élite* of the nation. To-day, in this solemn moment, my will is that the voice of the army shall be heard.

As citizens, give your votes freely; but as soldiers forget not that passive obedience to the orders of the head of the Government is the rigorous duty of the army, from the general down to the private soldier. It is for me, responsible for my actions to the people and to posterity, to adopt such measures as I may deem indispensable for the public weal.

As for you, remain firm to the rules of discipline and honour. Assist by your imposing attitude the country to manifest its will calmly and with deliberation. Hold yourselves in readiness to suppress any attempt made against the exercise of the sovereignty of the people.

Soldiers, I will say nothing of the recollections which my name recalls. They are graven in your hearts. We are linked together by indissoluble ties. Your history is mine. There exists between us in the past community of glory and misfortune. The future will bring forth community of feeling and opinion for the repose and greatness of France.

Done at the Palace Elysée, 2nd Dec., 1851.

(Signed) LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

Language noble as this could not fail to obtain a hearing from the army; for the President of the Republic asked of it nothing beyond the means of insuring respect to the free expression of public opinion.

XXI.

Finally, Louis Napoleon addressed the nation at large, calling upon it in the following terms to declare "yes" or "no," whether it would consent to be preserved by the establishment of a serious and practical form of government from anarchy and rapine:

FRENCHMEN!

Things can no longer go on as heretofore. Each day augments the dangers to which the country rests exposed. The Assembly, which should have proved itself the surest mainstay of the law, has become a hot-bed for plots. The patriotism of three hundred of its members has proved unavailing to stem its fatal tendencies. Instead of passing laws for the common good, it forges weapons for civil war; it attacks the power which I hold directly from the people; it encourages every evil passion; it compromises the tranquillity of France; I have dissolved it, and I constitute the whole body of the people the judge between it and me.

The Constitution, as you are aware, was made with the view of weakening, prospectively, the power you were about to intrust me with. Suffrages to the amount of six millions furnished a strong and striking protest against it, and yet, nevertheless, I have acted faithfully in accordance with it. Provocation, calumny, and outrage have failed to move me. But

now that the fundamental compact is no longer respected by those who so ceaselessly invoke it, and that the men who have already proved the destruction of two monarchies wish to bind my hands in order to overthrow the Republic, it becomes my duty to baffle their perfidious projects, to maintain the Republic and save the country by an appeal to the solemn judgment of the only sovereign I recognise in France, the People!

To the whole nation, then, do I make my loyal appeal, and to you I say, If it please you to hold on in this uneasy course which degrades us and compromises our future, choose another in my stead; for I will have no more of a power powerless to effect aught of good, which throws upon me the responsibility for acts I could not prevent, and chains me to the helm whilst I behold the vessel speeding onward towards the abyss.

If, on the other hand, I still retain your confidence, grant me the means for accomplishing the mighty mission I have received from you.

This mission consists in closing the epoch of revolutions by satisfying the people's legitimate wants, and protecting it against passions subversive of itself. It consists, above all, in the creation of those institutions destined to outlive man, and which may serve as foundations whereon to rear some lasting structure.

With the full conviction that the instability of the constituted powers and the preponderance of one sole and only Assembly are the enduring causes of trouble and discord, I submit to your suffrages the following fundamental basis of a Constitution which subsequent Assemblies will develop:—

1. A responsible chief to be chosen for ten years.
2. Ministers dependant on the executive power alone.
3. A Council of State formed from the most distinguished men, to prepare laws and discuss and support them before the legislative body.
4. A legislative body, to discuss and vote laws, appointed by universal suffrage, and without scrutiny of the list which falsifies the election.
5. A second Assembly, formed from the most illustrious men the country can boast, to act as preponderating power and guardian of the fundamental covenant and public liberty.

This system, called into existence by the First Consul at the commencement of the present century, has once before given repose and prosperity to France, and it would now guarantee them anew.

Such is my deep conviction. If you share it, let your suffrages speak for you. If, on the contrary, you prefer a Government without strength, be it monarchical or republican, borrowed from I know not what past or what chimerical future, then be your answer in the negative.

Thus, then, for the first time since 1804, will you vote with the fullest knowledge of what you are doing, and for what and for whom you vote.

If I do not obtain a majority of your votes, I shall convocate a new Assembly, and place in its hands the authority I have received from yours.

But if you believe that the cause of which my name is the symbol, that is to say, France regenerated by the Revolution of '89 and organised by the Emperor, is still ever your own, proclaim it by giving your sanction to the power I ask.

Then will France and Europe be preserved from anarchy, difficulties will be smoothed away and rivalries disappear; for all will respect, in the sentence of the people, the decree of Providence.

Done at the Palace of the Elysée, the 2nd December, 1851.

LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

XXII.

Could aught be simpler, more natural, or more universally longed for than a system of administration likely to prove somewhat enduring, so that it might have time to restore the equilibrium to society, shaken to its very centre by so many and such violent shocks?

Could aught be more profitless, more irritating, more revolutionary in itself than this parliamentary system, by virtue whereof the deliberative Assemblies impeded the course of business, incessantly excited party-passions, were ever at variance with the Government, and brought it into disrepute and weakened it in the opinion of the public?

Who, on the other hand, would withhold his approbation from Assemblies, calm, pains-taking, keeping in check, and imparting aid and information to, the head of the State, in lieu of compassing his ruin and proceeding to hostilities against him? Who does not acknowledge that universal suffrage, exercised in each respective district amongst those who know and esteem each other, afar from the influence of chiefs of private bodies, will rescue France from the hands of the old parties, and send as delegates to the Assemblies men devoted to the interests of the community at large and having no portion in intrigues, cabals, or conspiracies?

The grand measures resorted to by the President, the loyalty he showed as, under the protection of the army, he appealed to the good sense, the patriotism, the free will of every citizen, were well calculated to strike—as strike they verily did—all persons with astonishment and admiration.

One alone of these measures was misunderstood.

Acting upon the precedent furnished by other grand epochs of our political history, the President's first idea was that every citizen should vote according to the registered lists deposited in the custody of the various mayors, by affixing his name to his suffrage either in the

affirmative or negative, thus doing homage to a Frenchman's pride and courage.

Once enlightened as to the hold secret ballot had acquired over our political usages, and of the wish universally expressed in favour of its continuance, the President hesitated not a single instant to uphold it, desirous beyond all else that each man's opinion should be completely and absolutely free.

XXIII.

It would have savoured of insanity to hope that the old political parties and Socialism would suffer themselves to be disarmed without striking a blow.

At ten o'clock in the morning Government had already received information from one quarter that the members of the parliamentary coalition were endeavouring to collect themselves together; from another that the heads of the secret societies had declared their meetings permanent.

And who did the most deplorable blindness select in aid of Terrorism and Socialism? Legitimists, Orleanists, and Moderate Republicans; whilst the President had to defend society against the faubourgs, where efforts were in progress to induce a state of insurrection, as well as against men of large property, ex-ministers, and persons of rank and station, who branded as an outlaw the man elected by six millions of men.

It is a fortunate circumstance that the very extent of certain acts of madness proves antagonistical to their mischievous effects; thus Government entertained no dread either of the Socialists, whom it knew to be condemned by every intelligent and honest working-man, or of the parliamentary faction, which it knew to be at variance amongst themselves, powerless, and with no fixed principle or definite end in view.

Moreover, the soldiers were there, calm, resolute, and admirably well commanded; and the twelve brigades then collected together at Paris could have easily held their own against a foe tenfold more numerous and formidable.

XXIV.

At ten o'clock in the morning a meeting of deputies belonging to the Mountain party was held in the Rue des Petits-Augustins, presided over by M. Crémieux. No sooner had this intelligence reached the ears of the authorities than forces were despatched to the spot, the meeting was surrounded on all sides, and the deputies taken into custody.

At the same time the meeting of deputies of the old coalition, which did not take place until between twelve and one, was in course of preparation at the mayoralty of the tenth arrondissement. We have already mentioned that the organisation of the new Government, discovered through the seizure of M. Baze's papers, showed the strong hopes they had based upon the concurrence and co-operation of the 10th Legion.

As early as ten in the morning the National Guards, as well as the deputies, received orders to keep within their own doors.

About 200 deputies, for the most part attached to the Legitimist and Orleanist parties, met at the mayoralty, made sundry speeches, and voted there and then, in the name of the Assembly, of which they did not constitute one third, the President's deposition. Of course they did not fail to assert their alleged prerogative over the troops. General Oudinot was appointed to the command of the parliamentary army, and M. de Lauriston to that of the National Guard. M. Tamisier, deputy belonging to the Mountain party, was placed at the head of General Oudinot's staff.

As may well be imagined, there was no dearth of harangues at the mayoralty of the 10th arrondissement; harangues within door, and harangues at the windows, harangues in the court-yards, harangues from tables, and harangues from chairs. The number of National Guards who flocked thither was inconsiderable, but not so the public masses. They betrayed much curiosity but meagre enthusiasm.

M. de Morny, upon receiving intelligence of this meeting, gave orders for its dissolution, and arrest in case it should offer resistance.

A detachment of dismounted Light Dragoons, despatched by General Forey, four police-commissaries with a large *posse* of agents, gave another turn to the aspect of affairs. The dragoons compelled the representatives who were indulging in harangues to withdraw, and closed every window. The commissaries forced their way into the midst of the meeting. The president affected to receive them as though he really imagined they were there to crave his orders. The commissaries gave him at once to understand that they came not to place themselves at the orders of the ex-representatives, but to arrest them if they refused to disperse at once.

What with the blocking up of the streets surrounding the mayoralty of the 10th arrondissement by the crowd, and the vast number of individuals to be arrested, it was plain that fresh forces were required. General Forey led reinforcements in person, and as the representatives declared that they would only yield to force, a police-commissary laid hands on M. Benoit d'Azy and led him off. From that moment all further resistance was at an end. The representatives were placed in the centre of the troops drawn up four file deep, and marched without impediment to the barrack at the Quai d'Orsay.

Attempts on the part of General Oudinot to seduce the soldiers from the path of duty only provoked murmurs throughout the ranks. Recognising a sergeant who had been present at the siege of Rome, he said to him, "What, Martin! can it possibly be you who are taking me to prison?" "Pardon me, general," was the sergeant's reply, "but really my authority does not extend so far as to shield you from such punishment as this."

XXV.

The number of representatives arrested during the day amounted to 217. They were despatched at night-

fall to the prisons Mazas, Mont-Valérien and Vincennes.

During the accomplishment of this important operation in the mayoralty of the 10th arrondissement, a request was made, with all due deference, to his Grace the Archbishop of Paris, begging him to allow armed agents to be stationed in the towers and belfries of all the churches in Paris, in order to prevent the Reds from carrying into effect their design of ringing the tocsin.

Finally, and still at the same hour, the High Court of Justice had assembled of its own accord at their tribunal. The judges had already drawn up a decree, by virtue whereof they declared themselves in possession of the facts as to what had taken place, when two commissaries, supported by a battalion of the Municipal Guard, entered the hall and produced an order for the arrest of the members of the Court if they did not instantly separate. No attempt at resistance was made; the Court rose and separated forthwith, without taking with it the papers which lay before the President, the most important of which was the decree already drawn up, but not signed.

And here terminated every attempt at resistance essayed during that day; attempts but partial at best, without resolution, without response, and founded on the complete and manifest absence of any danger being incurred by their promoters; for on the 24th February the two legislative assemblies, the Council of State and the Court of Exchequer (*la cour des comptes*), suffered themselves to be dissolved without offering resistance; those political orators who had such favourable opportunities afforded them for making harangues had not delivered a single one, nor had one solitary legion of the National Guard held any meeting for the purpose of protesting. And yet on the 24th of February there was no loyal appeal made to the country, backed by the army and the entire government, such was not then the order of the day. On the 24th February all was ruin and confusion—government, laws, finances, and public and private safety; and of all those thunderbolts of eloquence and war which

had placed themselves in a state of insurrection against Louis Napoleon Buonaparte, preserver of order and saviour of society, not one was heard, but all fled before the demagoguery which was forcing itself upon France and threatening Europe.

XXVI.

The army of Paris consisted of such materials as to quiet all apprehension. Its numbers, bravery, discipline, and devotion to order, placed it beyond all doubt that France was under its ægis free to choose its own destiny, without fear either of the cabals of rival parties, or the brutal tyranny of Socialists and demagogues.

This army comprises eleven brigades, viz.:—

Cotte's brigade.	|	Dulac's brigade.
Bourgon's brigade.	|	Reybell's cavalry brigade.
Canrobert's brigade.		

These five brigades constitute Carrelet's division.

Sauboul's brigade.	|	Ribert's brigade.
Forey's brigade.		

These three brigades constitute Renauld's division.

Herbillon's brigade.	|	Marulaz' brigade.
Courtigis' brigade.		

These three brigades constitute Levasseur's division.

The component parts of these brigades include :

18 Regiments of infantry of the line.	|	2 Regiments of lancers.
3 Regiments of light infantry.	|	2 Squadrons of <i>guides</i> .
4 Battalions of <i>chasseurs à pied</i>.	|	2 Squadrons of the Republican Guard.
2 Battalions of the Republican Guard.	|	2 Squadrons of <i>gendarmérie mobile</i> .
2 Battalions of <i>gendarmérie mobile</i>.	|	9 Batteries of brigaded artillery.
4 Companies of engineers.	|	10 Batteries of artillery not brigaded.
1 Company of miners.	|	

Such is the real effective strength of the actual army of Paris, exclusive of regiments quartered in the garisons surrounding the town, which, within a few hours, could double its numbers.

The only outlying corps called in during the days of December was the division of the heavy cavalry from

Versailles, under the command of General Korte, comprising the 1st and 2nd Regiments of Carbineers, the 6th and 7th Regiments of Cuirassiers, and the 12th Regiment of Dragoons.

XXVII.

That this army may be the better appreciated, we must now be allowed to give a sketch of the character and services of the general officers intrusted with the direction of its movements.

General de St. Arnaud, Minister of War, possesses superior powers of mind, vigorous determination, and aptness for resources. Formed in the African war, where he has been engaged during fifteen years, and bred up in Marshal Bugeaud's school, whose friend he was, he has proved himself to be an eminent military chief both in his last command of the province of Constantine, and in his expedition in Kabylie, which he conducted with the greatest skill. Three months of expedition, six-and-twenty battles, the severest campaign of the whole African war, and great popularity with the army—such were the recommendations which warranted the head of the State in bestowing his confidence upon him, and which rendered him worthy the great and honourable part he has just performed.

General Magnan, commander-in-chief of the army of Paris, is an old soldier of the Empire. A highly-distinguished officer, possessing great authority over the army, he conducted with remarkable talent, as commander, the operations of these latter days, particularly those of the decisive day of Thursday, the 4th. His orders were concise and judiciously given, his foresight always just, and his calmness perfect.

FIRST DIVISION.

General Carrelet, commanding the first division, is an old colonel of gendarmerie. He is of decided character, and an honourable and experienced officer.

General de Cotte is a cavalry officer, placed at the head of an infantry brigade, to whom he imparts his own bravery and ardour.

M. de Cotte possesses superior qualities of no ordinary kind, and a bright future is in store for him ; as a highly-distinguished officer of the African army, none possesses more calm intrepidity or simple and natural daring. M. de Cotte was the first to attack in person the barricade in the Rue St. Denis. His horse was shot under him. The colonel of the 72nd was wounded, the lieutenant-colonel and adjutant-major killed. Twenty men fell killed or wounded by his side ; and the soldiers were powerfully affected at beholding courage so noble and thoroughly master of itself. The distinguished qualities of General de Cotte's mind and disposition are well known to every man in the army, as is likewise his warm devotion to the cause of the President of the Republic.

General Bourgon is a distinguished officer, honoured by the soldiery, and full of resolution, intelligence, and self-possession.

General Canrobert is a very promising officer, and, to use a cant expression in the army, more than up to the mark. It is impossible to enumerate the battles, during the war in Africa, in which he has distinguished himself. At the siege of Constantine he was captain adjutant-major under the brave Colonel Combes, who fell at his side. During the struggle with Bou Maza, he commanded and manœuvred with the 5th battalion of the Chasseurs de Vincennes. At the siege of Zaatcha, and at the head of the Zouaves, he excited the admiration of the whole army ; for he was first to scale the walls at the head of twenty men, of whom two only, beside himself, remained unhurt. Commanded by men such as General Canrobert, an army feels animated with two-fold courage, and becomes irresistible.

General Dulac is an officer possessed of resolution, knowledge of his duty, and the will to carry it into effect. He it was who, during the days of June, carried with his

regiment the great barricade in the Faubourg St. Antoine, for which exploit he was appointed general of brigade.

General Reybell, commanding the cavalry brigade, is a man of well-known and well-tryed energy. During the days of February, he gave convincing proof of his loyalty and honour ; for it was he who, slave to his duty, accompanied the King to St. Cloud.

XXVIII.

SECOND DIVISION.

General of Division Renauld is a man of high courage, well known and in great repute in the African army ; and Marshal Bugeaud, who had the highest opinion of him, thought him most peculiarly adapted for commanding rear-guards. He received his first wound in Spain, where he gave the earliest proof of his merits ; he was subsequently wounded three or four times in Africa. General Renauld is a devoted and determined man. His division had to sustain no serious engagement ; but it is brave and well commanded, and would prove a formidable enemy to encounter.

General Sauboul is a man attached to his duties ; he is an officer to be depended upon, bears an estimable character, and is a man of resolution.

General Forey, a highly-distinguished officer, and well known in the army, will, no doubt, be one of the first generals of division. It was to his brigade that the regiment belonged which was ordered to invest the mayoralty of the 10th arrondissement.

General Ripert is one of the veteran warriors of the Empire. His courage has been proved a hundred times, and his devotion is unswerving.

XXIX.

THIRD DIVISION.

General of Division Levasseur is a man of well-known energy. He served with distinction a long time in

Africa. True, he may fall in an insurrection ; but it will never make him enter into any treaty with the cause of disorder.

General Herbillon, brave and of high moral distinction, commanded at the siege of Zaatcha ; to say more in his praise would be superfluous.

General Marulaz, a man of singular intrepidity, is an officer held in high esteem in the African army. He particularly distinguished himself in the Kabylie campaign, where he commanded the 20th regiment of the Line.

General de Courtigis, in command at Vincennes, is a distinguished man and a determined officer.

XXX.

DIVISION OF HEAVY CAVALRY AT VERSAILLES.

General of Division Korte is an old officer of the Empire, almost old enough to have been the comrade of Lassalle and Montbrun ; he is a perfect general of cavalry. He served long and honourably in the African war, and was wounded during the days of June.

General Tartas had resigned his seat as representative to resume the command of a brigade ; he is a very distinguished cavalry officer, and highly thought of in the army. He served a long time in Africa, where he won great reputation. Before he was general, M. Tartas was one of the best colonels in the army ; he commanded the cavalry at the battle of Isly.

General d'Allonville is an officer prompt in his decisions, and of singular energy ; he possesses considerable influence over the soldiers, to whom he can impart what impulse he will. M. d'Allonville served a long time in Africa, where he acquired a reputation for more than ordinary bravery ; he distinguished himself at the battle of Isly, where he captured the guns of the Morocco forces.

An army such as this, commanded by officers such as these, could leave no doubt, no anxiety in the minds of the President of the Republic and of those intelligent,

energetic, and devoted men who boldly assumed the responsibility of this great act for insuring safety. And what was it that was proposed to be done? To reduce the factious to silence and to protect the liberty and sovereignty of France, by suffering her to give herself a government, after having received three or four from cabals and factions. Thus the success of the measure did not remain one single instant in doubt.

XXXI.

THE DAY OF THE SECOND OF DECEMBER.

At six in the morning the National Assembly and its dependencies were occupied by three battalions, and the approaches guarded by troops belonging to Ripert's brigade.

An hour afterwards, the regiments from the three divisions of the army of Paris were drawn up in brigades, and occupied the Quai d'Orsay, the Carrousel, the garden of the Tuileries, the Place de la Concorde, and the Champs-Élysées. Battalions had been left in the barracks, in sufficient numbers for the maintenance of order.

The arrests at the Assembly and elsewhere were effected without any show of resistance. The arrested were conveyed in carriages to places of safety either at Mazas or Vincennes, slenderly escorted, yet without experiencing the slightest opposition on the part of the people, and without the words addressed to the troops by several representatives producing any effect beyond that of general reprobation.

Some representatives endeavoured to force their way into the National Assembly through a little door opening upon the Rue de Lille, but they were driven back by the troops.

The decrees issued by the President of the Republic were read to the troops, at about nine o'clock in the morning. They excited everywhere indescribable adhesion and enthusiasm. The army at once understood that the safety of the country and of society at large

was in their hands. Its chiefs mutually encouraged each other to accomplish the great mission confided to their charge, and each promised to outvie the others in courage and devotion, in order to save the country.

The Minister of War rode rapidly at half-past eight o'clock in front of the troops, and received nothing but adhesions as he passed along. His old comrades, who had seen how he did his work in Africa, where he earned his fame, placed the strongest confidence in him. The attitude of the army and the entire faith which it placed in the head of the State, offered sure and sufficing pledges for the immense result then imminent.

The troops were thus arranged :—

National Assembly	...	...	Ripert's brigade
Quai d'Orsay	...	...	Forey's brigade
Tuileries	...	...	19th and 51st line, General Dulac
Place de la Concorde	...	...	Cotte's brigade
Champs Elysées	...	...	{ 1st and 7th Lancers, General Reybell ; Division of heavy Cavalry, General Korte
Avenue Marigny	...	...	Canrobert's brigade

The Sauboul, Marulaz, Courtigis, Bourgon brigades, &c., remained in their quarters and occupied Paris.

The President of the Republic mounted his horse at twelve o'clock, accompanied by Marshals Jérôme Bonaparte and Exelmans, the Minister of War, the General-in-Chief, the General commanding the National Guards, General Count de Flahaut, General Schramm, and a group of other generals, officers, and representatives. He rode in the front of the troops, followed by enormous crowds of people, who received him with the heartiest and most enthusiastic acclamations. The attitude of the troops was admirable, and they evinced by unanimous cries their devotion to the great cause intrusted to their defence. The President returned to the Elysée, in the midst of the cheers of the whole army and the crowd.

The army was decided, and would accomplish its task with the most devoted energy.

At four in the evening General Korte's reserve division

of cavalry was reviewed in the Champs-Élysées by the Prince, who was received with hearty cheers.

At night the troops returned to their quarters, and the tranquillity of Paris remained not only undisturbed, but, on the contrary, the appearance of the town betokened how completely it adhered to the head of the State's great act.

XXXII.

THE DAY OF THE THIRD.

The Minister of War, informed that the representatives of the Mountain were meditating an insurrectional movement in union with the efforts of the Socialist sections of Paris, had, in anticipation of such movement, issued orders the preceding evening, that the army should be supplied with provisions, and held in readiness, in case of combat, to resist to the best advantage. That their men might undergo no unnecessary fatigue, the generals were not to take up their positions until the insurrection should have plainly declared itself.

Some barricades raised in the Faubourg St. Antoine, Rues de Cotte et de Saint Marguerite, as well as some in the Rue Aumaire and Rue du Lion Saint Sauveur, were carried in the morning by a battalion of the 44th Line, a battalion of the 19th Light Infantry, and by detached parties. A great number of shots were fired on the troops by the insurgents—blood had flowed and the struggle began. The insurgents collected, in the first instance, at the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, where they commenced an attack upon some detachments from Marulaz' brigade. Repulsed in these attempts, they proceeded to agitate the quarter Saint-Martin. Pressed closely on that point by General Herbillon and Colonel Champuis, they moved along the left wing of the Seine to raise the Faubourgs Saint-Jacques and Saint-Marceau. Sums of money were distributed, and the insurrection organised.

The representative Baudin was killed by soldiers of

the Marulaz brigade, on the barricade of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, and the representative Madier de Montjeau was wounded.

About four o'clock large bodies of insurgents met at the Porte Saint-Denis and the adjacent neighbourhood. A barricade, raised in the Rue Rambuteau, was carried without striking a blow, by a detachment of *chasseurs à pied*; two barricades, in the Rue Saint-Martin, were easily demolished by a detachment of the Republican Guard. Other barricades, in course of erection, were destroyed by General Levasseur's columns.

During this day the greater part of the brigades remained in their quarters, and only very slight detachments acted. The insurgents, however, failed in raising the faubourgs, which remained calm, and nobly rejected every inducement and every bribe to lure them into insurrection. Their adhesion to Government was complete.

In anticipation of renewed efforts on the side of the Socialist party, the Bourgon brigade received orders to take up its fighting positions at four o'clock in the morning, whilst the other brigades were to hold themselves in readiness.

Seizures were made of placards and lithographed hand-bills, making an appeal to civil war, and bearing the signatures of Michel (of Bourges), Schœlcher, Leydet, Mathieu (of la Drôme), Jules Favre, E. Arago, Madier de Montjeau, Eugene Sue, Esquiros, de Flotte, Chauflour, Brives, &c.

At seven in the evening, the instigators of the insurrection visited the various hostile groups, fixing the time and place of rendezvous at eight, on the Boulevard Saint-Martin. Large masses formed upon the Boulevard des Italiens, but they were dispersed towards ten o'clock by a patrol of cavalry. At eleven the boulevards were deserted, and Paris appeared more calm. The troops were withdrawn whilst the insurgents were settling their plans for the morrow.

The Minister of War caused a proclamation to be posted

up whereby he reminded the public, in energetic terms, that, in pursuance of the laws during the state of siege, any individual taken with arms in his hand, defending or constructing a barricade, should be shot. Bearers of false intelligence would be considered as accomplices of the insurgents. Thus it was clear that no considerations would shake his energy.

During the night the Minister profited by the momentary calm enjoyed by the town to dismiss, under escort, from the prison of Mazas to the Northern Railway, eight representatives, ringleaders of the resistance and conspiracy, in order that they might be thence conveyed to the fortress of Ham. During the journey these representatives had several times an opportunity of observing how little in their favour was the opinion of the inhabitants of the towns and districts through which they passed. They were greeted throughout their journey with shouts of "Vive Napoleon!"

The greater number of the 150 representatives arrested on the 2nd at the mayoralty of the 10th arrondissement were transferred to the fort of Mont Valérien. Many of them were offered to be at once set at liberty, but they refused, from motives easily to be appreciated, and which showed how much they dreaded being forced to take part in the struggle between society and anarchy. They were almost all set at liberty four days subsequently.

Public opinion, so favourable to the President on the preceding evening in the quarters of the Chaussée d'Antin, began now to become somewhat hostile towards him under the influence of the representatives, who endeavoured by every possible means to stir up a spirit of revolt amongst the populace.

The night was tolerably calm. "Let us leave business until to-morrow," said the Minister of War, who only then indulged himself with a few hours' rest. He had hitherto directed the active part of this movement with such inflexible energy and activity as to render the issue certain. The army had full confidence in its

general, on whose brow they still saw the laurels he had so recently won in Kabylie—it only asked to be led against the anarchists, those Parisian Kabyles. It trusted also in its commander-in-chief, a glorious soldier of the Empire, who had already suppressed at Lyons the senseless attempts of the enemies of order and society.

XXXIII.

THE DAY OF THE FOURTH.

The morning was spent in preparations on the part of the insurgents. Hostile groups mustered in large numbers upon the boulevards. Towards noon, strong barricades were thrown up at the Porte Saint-Denis, and in the streets Saint-Martin, Saint-Denis, du Petit-Carreau, Rambuteau, Faubourg Saint-Martin, and the length of the canal. A terrible struggle appeared at hand.

The insurgents, unsupported by the faubourgs, felt their grand battle-hour had sounded, and they spared no pains and no attempts to induce the populace to side with them.

The commander-in-chief, General Magnan, ordered a general movement to be simultaneously executed by several brigades in the quarters of Saint-Denis, Saint-Martin, and the Temple, where the insurgents had established themselves. These judicious dispositions were crowned with complete success.

"Don't be uneasy," he observed to the Minister of War, to whom he explained his plans, "trust me with the management of matters to-day, and I'll answer for the result. At two o'clock you'll hear the roar of my cannon; and I promise you that with such troops as these Paris will be rid of its enemies by nightfall."

"I expect as much, and I leave everything at your own disposal, for I know you well," was the Minister's reply.

Bourgon's brigade, which was the first to reach its ground, opened its fire and swept the boulevard as far the Porte St. Denis.

The moment the attack began, the remainder of Carrelet's division debouched by the Rue de la Paix and the boulevards, and followed closely upon Bourgon's brigade as far as the Rue du Temple, when it struck aside in order to gain the Rue Rambuteau by turning to the left.

Cotte's brigade entered resolutely into the Rue St. Denis, a battalion of the 15th Light Infantry was thrown into the Rue du Petit-Carreau, which was by this time barricaded.

Whilst Bourgon and Cotte's brigades were penetrating the centre of the town, the head of the columns of General Lavasseur, commanding the 3rd division, entered the Rue Saint-Martin and took up its ground so as to support Carrelet's division. General Lavasseur deputed General Dulac to render this support efficacious, who forthwith demolished the barricades in the Rue Rambuteau, seconded by the brave fellows of the 51st, 19th, and 41st Line, and by General Marulaz, who operated by the Rue Saint-Denis, and streets running transversely. All these quarters were surrounded by a net-work of troops.

These three columns, brought into contact from the adjacent streets, were most energetically handled, and they had not to wait long for success. The barricades, after being cannonaded, were carried at the point of the bayonet. That part of the town situated between the Porte Saint-Martin and Saint-Eustache underwent a rigid search. The barricades were carried, demolished, and burnt, and the insurgents dispersed and killed. The engagement began at half-past two, and at five o'clock the troops had returned to their original position on the boulevard.

Whilst all this was going on, General Canrobert, who had taken up his position at the Porte Saint-Martin, carried with his wonted impetuosity the barricades of the Faubourg Saint-Martin and those of the adjacent streets, and pushed on as far as the canal, cutting down the insurgents in every direction. There, as at Zaatcha, his valour set an example to all.

Reybell's brigade was at the same time sweeping the

boulevards from the Madeleine as far as the Boulevard Poissonnière. After reaching the upper part of the Boulevard Montmartre without striking a blow, it suddenly received a volley of musketry fired by insurgents stationed in several of the houses. It halted, and, seconded by sharpshooters and troops from Canrobert's brigade, opened a terrible fire upon the windows, burst open the doors with cannon-shot, and quickly drove out the insurgents, after having put to death a considerable number of them.

Courtigis' brigade had, on their side, carried with the utmost vigour the barricades which had been raised at the Faubourg St. Antoine, and remained masters of this position.

This grand and simultaneous movement crushed the enemy, who abandoned the barricades covered with their slain, and henceforth all further resistance became impossible. On our side we had to deplore the death of Lieutenant-Colonel Loubeau of the 72nd, and the wound of Colonel Quilico of the same regiment. Our losses amounted to about twenty-five killed, inclusive of one officer, and 181 wounded, inclusive of seventeen officers.

The vigour and energy of the army were admirable, and right well did it perform its duty; for it was determined to overcome, cost what it might, the criminal resistance that held the country in check.

The brigades took up their position at six o'clock in the quarters they had carried. Forthwith the streets were lighted up; the inhabitants, delivered from the insurgents, and freed from the dread that they had inspired, left their habitations to offer the soldiers of their own accord coffee, wine, and all kinds of provisions. Bivouac-fires were lighted up in all the quarters occupied by the troops; and the regiments everywhere encountered a cordial reception and most genuine sympathy, especially in the quarters of the markets, Saint-Marceau and the Pantheon. The last shots were fired at nine in the evening in the Rue Montorgueil, where a final attempt was vigorously crushed by Colonel de Lourmet with the

51st Line. The whole army bivouacked in the best of spirits around their fires, happy in the noble performance of their duty, and at having restored to France peace and prosperity for the time present and time to come.

The fight was over! The terrified anarchists were flying in all directions, and rushing from Paris, for the time transformed into one vast camp. During the night, patrols of infantry and cavalry accomplished their search in every quarter where no troops were posted. They encountered no resistance.

It is very painful to have to relate that, spite of the Minister of War's proclamations relative to the collecting in masses, several unoffending persons fell on the boulevards victims of their curiosity. There, as in February 1848, the insurgents endeavoured, with the most treacherous atrocity, by discharging their pieces close to the various groups, to excite the troops to fire upon those who inhabited the more opulent quarters—this they did in the hopes of compelling the populace to join them from a spirit of revenge; fortunately the number of such victims was very limited.

XXXIV.

THE DAY OF THE FIFTH.

During the night attempts had been made to raise barricades in those quarters which had not been visited by the troops. Notice was therefore given at five in the morning of the existence of some barricades in the Rue Rochecouart, and in the quarter of the Croix-Rouge.

The Commander-in-Chief, with the Minister's concurrence, ordered a grand movement of troops upon the barrier Rochecouart and La Croix-Rouge in order to determine at once the defeat of the anarchists. But the advancing columns encountered no more enemies, for they fled as the troop drew near. The barricades, left defenceless, were all demolished.

General Carrelet penetrated with the Gendarmerie

Mobile as far as Ménilmontant, where he was met by the National Guards of Belleville and Ménilmontant, with their mayor at their head, who received him with acclamation. General Canrobert likewise penetrated as far as this point, by the Faubourg Poissonnière, without having encountered any resistance.

All the brigades traversed Paris in every direction, receiving as they passed along naught but tokens of sympathy. Confidence and satisfaction were depicted on the countenance of each inhabitant, the shops were reopened and the public funds rose.

A portion of the brigade bivouacked as before, and received the same hospitality they had met with on the preceding night. The division of cavalry kept in reserve marched back to Versailles.

The anarchists who had fled from Paris made one more attempt at La Chapelle Saint-Denis, where they raised barricades; but they were quickly driven out by two companies of the 28th, who killed some and took thirty-three prisoners.

The night was calm, and no further attempt at disorder was reported.

The Minister thanked the army by a proclamation, and congratulated it in the name of the country in those terms that strike home to the soldier's heart.

SOLDIERS !

You have this day achieved a great deed in your military life. You have preserved the country from anarchy and pillage, and saved the Republic. You have shown yourselves such as you ever will be, brave, devoted, and indefatigable. France admires and thanks you. The President of the Republic will never forget your devotion.

Victory could never be doubted of; the true people, all honest persons, are with you.

In every garrison throughout France your comrades in arms are proud of you, and, if need were, would follow your example.

XXXV.

THE DAY OF THE SIXTH.

Paris had resumed its usual aspect. Street traffic, for awhile interrupted, was re-established. The shops

were re-opened, carriages drove about as usual, business was resumed, the inhabitants breathed once more, and congratulated themselves on having escaped the danger that menaced them.

The troops marched back to their quarters. None but the most important points were retained possession of by placing posts in the houses upon the boulevards and angles of the streets, Rambuteau, Saint Martin, Saint Denis, Beaubourg, &c.

Confidence was perfectly restored. The annihilation of the anarchists, the excellent news from the provinces, the vigour, energy, and union of our troops and their officers, the unanimous sympathy demonstrated towards the head of the State, all tended to form a nucleus of strength which justifies our firm faith in the future. The evil days are past and gone. During the day there was a rise of four francs in the public funds.

XXXVI.

Government never entertained, nor ever could entertain, a moment's anxiety as to the issue of the struggle. Had all Paris risen in rebellion, the army was sufficiently strong and sufficiently determined to reduce it to obedience. Not a single soldier was there amongst them all who was not resolved to avenge the humiliation that the army underwent on the 24th, and to inflict severe retaliation for the base inactivity then imposed upon them.

But so far from having aught to apprehend from Paris, the real working-classes took no part whatever in the disorderly doings. The only struggle was with the secret societies, under the directions of the Montagnard representatives, and with part of the second arrondissement, led astray during a brief period by some Orleanists and Legitimists.

The true people, the real workmen, were so little in favour of the insurrection, that a hackney-coachman gave a very well-dressed gentleman, who was in his vehicle,

and who had offered him a bribe of twenty francs, into the custody of the guard stationed at the Foreign Office.

The secret societies, under the direction of ambitious persons, supported by the credulity of weak minds, recruited by idlers, fanatics and malefactors, composed the army of the Terrorists and Socialists. They it was who raised barricades at the faubourgs and centre of Paris and defended them.

The second arrondissement of Paris is the wealthiest and most elegant, and makes the greatest display of the luxuries of life. It has not, however, shown itself to be the most sensible. It had the misfortune to contribute more than any other in bringing about the revolution of February, by its cries of "Vive la réforme!" The factious spirit of this arrondissement bade it again espouse for a time the cause of the Orleanists, Legitimists and Parliamentarians; and history will record to their shame that the Boulevard des Italiens and Boulevard Montmartre fired upon the French army, and that the aristocracy of wealth became the ally of pillagers.

When the bodies of the insurgents were removed, what were the most striking features that presented themselves?—Malefactors and men of fashion! (*des gants jaunes.*)

XXXVII.

The insurgents' plan was to protract matters to the utmost and weary the troops. But they were quickly compelled to forego this scheme, for the troops fought with so much energy, and put so many of them to death, that they thought it expedient to bring the struggle to an issue as soon as possible, for they were tired out the first.

When the insurgents, forced at all points, abandoned the field of battle to our brave soldiers, many inquired, Is all this to begin again?

To such questions there was but this reply.

The army collected at Paris comprised twelve brigades; of these brigades but six had been engaged, and of these

six but half the troops were actively concerned in the struggle. The insurgents might begin afresh without seriously endangering the safety of the capital.

It would be unjust to close the narrative of the struggle sustained against the foes of society without enlisting the gratitude of the country in behalf of those who, although not in the ranks of the army, were the first to play their part in this struggle with admirable courage and resolution.

M. de Morny countersigned the decree for the dissolution of the Assembly, and naught save the consciousness of the immensity of the service rendered to France and Europe could inspire such devotion. Nominated Minister for the Home Department by the confidence reposed in him by Louis Napoleon, M. de Morny took upon himself the government of the country with a calm, firm hand, that no agitation and no events could ever cause to tremble.

Moreover, those politicians whose intelligence, patriotism and devotion were already well known to the President of the Republic, failed him not amidst this crisis, on which depended the safety of France; and what class need fear for its interests with a Ministry composed of such men as MM. de Turgot, de Morny, de Saint-Arnaud, Fould, Rouher, Fortoul, Magne, Lefèvre-Durulé and Ducos?

XXXVIII.

The army of Paris had achieved two great results: Socialism, driven from its barricades, shot down, dispersed, disarmed, beheld its remains fall a prey to the active and indefatigable researches of the police, whose calm, unswerving, and courageous exertions will soon be made public on the grand day of the courts-martial; whilst the accomplices of the insurrection, however determined they might have shown themselves, could not for an instant hold the troops in check, even with the assistance of the guilty and shameful diversion in their favour, attempted for their own purposes by a handful

of factious, perverted, and hood-winked individuals of the Boulevard de Gand.

The working-classes of Paris, whose cause was twice advocated by the President—first by the re-introduction of the law of May 31, re-establishing them in their elective rights; and again by the maintenance of order, which assured them the opportunity of procuring employment—the working-classes of Paris, we say, held aloof from the struggle, not having—as have they could not by any possibility—ought in common either with self-opinionated dandies possessed of no influence, or with secret societies devoid of all regard for morals.

It then became a moral certainty on the evening of the 6th of December, that as an immense majority of the bourgeoisie, and the working-classes almost to a man, took no part in the combat, that the army had no longer any enemy to contend against.

The next point to be ascertained was what line would be adopted by the departments.

XXXIX.

No doubts could be entertained as to the resolution to be arrived at in the agricultural districts, or that of the land-owners, petty or large. The President's energetic measures had received by anticipation its sanction from two million petitioners, and the vote of eighty general councils.

But what *did* remain doubtful was the line that would be adopted by secret societies organised in a few small towns, directed by ambitious and idle men, and recruited in some parts of the country from wretched peasants, whose heads had been led astray, and whose hearts were corrupted.

The thunder-clap of the 2nd of December had taken every one by surprise, and had outstript all preliminary arrangements. The chiefs were at first petrified. The feeble resistance on the 3rd inspired them with fresh illusions. On the 4th the chiefs at Paris despatched circulars throughout the country, stating that the town

had risen *en masse*, that the bourgeoisie had declared in their favour, and that victory was certain; and it was upon such mad mendacious assurances that in about twenty chefs lieux d'arrondissement the demagogues flew to arms, imprisoned the authorities, took the power in their own hands, and sullied their violent and fleeting domination by theft, murder, and every species of abomination, the natural episodes in their foul and blood-stained history.

But the truth was known ere long, and society everywhere stood to its defence. The ruffians who had displayed so much cruelty naturally showed themselves cowards. Left to their fate by the chiefs in Paris, who had hounded them on in their criminal career, they dispersed in every quarter; and the tribunals will now track to their lair this broken herd of idiotic, idle, envious, and criminal characters who have so imprudently flung aside the veil, thus indicating to Government those gangrened and rotten members of the population that the sword of justice must lop off in behalf of the interest of civilisation.

If the effect of the news from Paris be attentively considered from the following statement, it will be seen that the immense majority of the inhabitants universally exhibited, in the first instance, calm satisfaction, and even enthusiasm; and the false intelligence, the wicked provocatives to crime, despatched from Paris on the 3rd and 4th, alone brought about the partial rising in those localities, victims to secret societies.

XL.

An immense majority of the population in the departments still retained their devotion for the President of the Republic, looking to him alone for the re-establishment of strong-handed power, failing which, safety, industry, social relations, comfort, all became impossible.

The impression produced by the news of the act of the

2nd December was generally a favourable one in the provinces; but there, as at Paris, the secret societies strove to resist a measure which wrought their annihilation. Orders to rise in rebellion left Paris on the 3rd and 4th of December; and a handful of ambitious men plunged into the committal of the most abominable crimes, an army of idlers and pillagers, long since in readiness for the fatal onslaught on society in 1852.

Fortunately, but comparatively few of the departments were members of secret societies. The greater number remained calm; and their calm was in nowise disturbed.

Thus, l'Aisne, les Hautes-Alpes, les Ardennes, l'Ariège, l'Aube, les Bouches-du-Rhône, le Calvados, le Cantal, la Charente, la Charente-Inférieure, le Cher, la Corrèze, la Corse, les Côtes-du-Nord, la Creuse, la Dordogne, le Doubs, l'Eure, l'Eure-et-Loir, le Finistère, la Gironde, l'Indre, l'Indre-et-Loire, l'Isère, les Landes, la Loire, la Haute-Loire, le Loir-et-Cher, la Loire-Inférieure, la Corrèze, le Maine-et-Loire, la Manche, la Haute-Marne, la Mayenne, la Meuse, le Morbihan, la Moselle, le Nord, l'Oise, l'Orne, le Pas-de-Calais, le Puy-de-Dôme, le Haut-Rhin, le Rhône, la Haute-Saône, la Seine-et-Marne, la Seine-et-Oise, la Seine-Inférieure, la Somme, Vaucluse, la Vendée, la Vienne, les Vosges; in fact, forty-nine departments remained entirely untroubled.

A few disturbances, purely local, and of no duration, occurred in five departments, le Lot, les Basses and les Hautes-Pyrénées, la Marne, and le bas-Rhin.

In sixteen departments, la Côte-d'Or, le Tarn-et-Garonne, les Deux-Sèvres, le Gard, la Haute-Vienne, la Haute-Garonne, le Tarn, les Pyrénées-Orientales, l'Ille-et-Vilaine, la Meurthe, l'Ardèche, l'Aveyron, l'Ain, le Loiret, le Lot-et-Garonne, Saône-et-Loire, some attempts at insurrection were made, but they were promptly and completely quelled.

One or several of the localities in twelve departments fell, for a period of shorter or longer duration, into the

power of victorious insurgents, as for instance, l'Aude, Saône-et-Loire, la Drôme, l'Yonne, la Sarthe, le Gers, l'Hérault, le Jura, la Nièvre, l'Allier, le Var et les Basses-Alpes.

But even in these localities, some of which history will chronicle with an everlasting mourning-blot, it was but the minorities of vicious men, who contrived by surprise and violence to impose their precarious and sanguinary domination.

XLI.

If the troubles of the provinces required more time for their suppression than those of Paris, for lack of sufficient forces to be concentrated at certain positions, such suppression was, however, nowise the less certain, efficacious or prompt. Everywhere the army, the constituted authorities, and the right-minded portion of the population did their duty.

The question as to order was resolved at Paris, on the 6th of December; once resolved there it became virtually so in all other quarters.

On that day, M. de Morny addressed the following letter to General Lavæstine, Commander-in-chief of the National Guard at Paris, redolent of the most just and noblest indignation:—

Paris, Dec. 7, 1851.

GENERAL,

In several quarters of Paris some persons belonging to the better classes have been bare-faced enough to put upon their door, "Arms given away." One might easily understand a National Guardsman to write, "Arms seized by force," in order to shield his responsibility towards the State and vindicate his honour before his fellow-citizens; but to inscribe his own shame on the door of his own house is an insult to the French character.

I have ordered the Prefect of Police to see that these inscriptions are erased, and I request you to forward the names of those legions by whom such acts were perpetrated, in order that I may submit a proposition to the President of the Republic, having in view a decree for their dissolution.

In his prompt reply to this appeal, M. de Lavæstine

thus designated the legion of Paris whose arms had been turned to the use of the insurgents.

Paris, Dec. 7, 1851.

MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE,

The entire National Guard will applaud the sentiments expressed in the letter you have done me the honour to write to me.

One of the legions of Paris has undergone the two-fold affront of being disarmed whilst in their own abode and of the shameful inscriptions to which you allude. The mayoralty, spite of the presence of upwards of sixty men, was taken by the insurgents. The 5th is the legion in question.

I haste to report its behaviour to you, and request it may be disbanded. I am, however, on the other side, happy to be in the possession of several circumstances which attest the spirit of order and obedience that never ceased to prevail among the other legions.

The 5th legion was immediately dissolved. Since the 7th, Government was able to resume its usual course. M. de Morny acted accordingly by his circular addressed to the prefects, couched in these terms :

Paris, the 7th December, 1851.

MONSIEUR LE PREFET,—

You were empowered by my circular bearing date the 3rd December to suspend and even to replace forthwith any functionary on whose co-operation you could not calculate with certainty.

It was expedient to confer these powers on you so long as there existed any necessity for at once crushing any resistance of a nature likely to compromise the success of the great measures for public safety decreed by Prince Louis Napoleon.

These powers authorised you to exercise control over the *juges de paix* ; now that Government has mastered the situation, they must cease. The interval that will precede the opening of the *scrutin* leaves you, moreover, at liberty to follow the ordinary course of nomination.

You will, therefore, Monsieur le Prefet, henceforth leave to the heads of the Court of Appeal the free, full, and uncontrolled exercise of their judicial rights, and to the Minister of Justice the exercise of the right which is equally his of seeing that all the functions of the magistrature are well provided for. In conclusion, I have to inform you that the Minister of Justice requests the *procureurs généraux* to consult you as to the dismissals and replacings which it is requisite to effect.

XLII.

On the 8th of December, the President of the Republic closed the era of struggle, and opened the era of confidence and co-operation by this admirable proclamation to the French people :

FRENCHMEN !

The troubles are appeased. Whatever may be the decision of the people, society is saved. The first part of my task is accomplished. I knew full well that public tranquillity incurred no serious risk by an appeal to the nation to bring party strife to a close.

Why should the people have risen against me ?

If I no longer possess your confidence, if your ideas have changed, there is no need to cause precious blood to flow ; it will suffice to drop a contrary vote in the urn. I shall always respect the people's decree.

But until the people has spoken out I shall shrink from no effort, from no sacrifice, to baffle the attempts of the factions. But this task has been rendered an easy one for me.

On the one hand, it has been seen how senseless it was to strive against an army united by the bonds of discipline, and animated by feelings of military honour and devotion to their country.

On the other, the calm attitude of the inhabitants of Paris, the reprobation with which they branded the insurrection, have testified loudly enough in whose favour the capital pronounced itself.

In those populous quarters where formerly the ranks of insurrection were so rapidly swoln by the working-classes, obedient to its impulse, anarchy this time has met with nought but profound repugnance for these detestable excitements.

For this, let thanks be returned to the intelligent and patriotic population of Paris ! Be it more and more convinced that my sole ambition is to insure the repose and prosperity of France.

Let her but continue to lend her aid to the authorities, and soon will the country calmly accomplish the solemn act that will inaugurate a new era for the Republic.

Done at the Palais de l'Elysée, the 8th Dec.

LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

XLIII.

To continue. A capital measure was the same day taken by the Minister for the Home Department. It consisted in a proposition, which subsequently became a decree, whose object was to defend society against the army of vice and crime. Here is this memorable document, whose firm and severe execution will afford rest to France during a whole generation.

DECREES RELATIVE TO TRANSPORTATION.**IN THE NAME OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE.**

The President of the Republic, upon the proposition of the Minister for the Home Department ;

Whereas France stands in need of order, work, and security ; that since

too many years society is deeply disquieted and troubled by the machinations of anarchy as well as by the insurrectionary attempts of those attached to secret societies and convicts, ever ready to become instruments of disorder;

Whereas by their constant habits of revolt against all law, this class of men not only compromises tranquillity, industry, and public order, but, moreover, authorises unjust attacks and deplorable calumnies against the healthy working population of Paris and Lyons;

Whereas the existing legislation is insufficient, and it becomes necessary to modify it, reconciling at the same time the duties of humanity with the interests of general safety;

DECREES:

Art. 1. Every individual placed under the *surveillance* of the high police who shall be convicted of the crime of infringing the terms imposed upon him may be transported, for the sake of general safety, to a penal colony, either Cayenne or Algiers. Such transportation to be for a term not below five years, and not exceeding ten.

Art. 2. The same measure to apply to persons found guilty of having belonged to any secret society.

Art. 3. The effect of re-committal to the *surveillance* of the high police will be in future to give Government the right to determine the place of residence of the condemned person after he has undergone his punishment.

The administration will settle the formalities requisite for ascertaining whether the condemned person continues his presence in his place of residence.

Art. 4. All individuals placed under the *surveillance* of the high police are forbidden to reside either at Paris or within the precincts of that town.

Art. 5. Individuals designated in the last-mentioned article will be compelled to quit Paris and its precincts within the space of ten days from the date of the promulgation of the present decree, unless they have obtained permission to reside there from the proper authorities; to those who apply for it will be delivered a paper granting them assistance, which will regulate the road they are to take on their way to their original home, or to such place as they may fix upon for their abode.

Art. 6. In case of infringement of the dispositions prescribed by Art. 4 and 5 of the present decree, those guilty of such infringement may be transported, as a measure demanded by public safety, to a penal colony, either Cayenne or Algiers.

Art. 7. Individuals transported by virtue of the present decree shall be subjected to such works as the penal establishment may require; they shall be deprived of their civil and political rights, they shall be submitted to military jurisdiction, martial law shall be applicable to them; but in case of escape from the establishment the transported persons shall be condemned to imprisonment for a period not exceeding the time still to elapse before the term of their transportation expires. They will be submitted to military discipline and subordination towards their chiefs and civil or military supervisors during the term of their imprisonment.

Art. 8. The organisation of these penal colonies will be determined upon by regulations to emanate from the executive power.

Art. 9. The Ministers of the Home Department and of War are charged, as far as each is concerned, with the execution of the present decree.

Done at Paris, at the Elysée National, after taking the advice of Ministers, the 8th December, 1851.

LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.
A. DE MORNAY, Minister for the
Home Department.

Four great results, all equally due to the President's energetic conduct, are strikingly apparent from a review of the preceding facts.

In the first place, the Reds, the Socialists, the Terrorists alone have attempted to resist an act which evidently re-establishes the necessary conditions of order destroyed by the rivalries of old parties waging an internecine war in the Assembly, rendering their divisions infectious, and inculcating throughout the country their own feelings of hatred. With the exception of the Reds, the Socialists and the Communists, who felt right well that the President was destroying their hopes, the population at large accepted the intelligent and resolute act of the 2nd of December.

The President has, moreover, to use a term become familiar, discounted the fatal crisis of 1852; a crisis which, judging according to the partial and disjointed attempts of the Reds, would have proved the annihilation of France precipitated into an abyss of blood and pillage. Instead of the immense conspiracy of murderers and ruffians organised by secret societies, and let loose, every man of them, at the same moment, upon the nation—instead of all this, we have seen five-and-twenty or thirty local insurrections vigorously suppressed; irreparable disaster for the victims, but an eloquent and edifying lesson for all honest people!

On the other hand, if hitherto divisions prevailed amongst the various classes of society, three-fourths of such divisions have disappeared, and will shortly disappear for ever, before the necessity of defending our family, property, religion, and morality against hordes of malefactors. Soon will there exist no longer Legitimists,

Orleanists, or Bonapartists ; there will be only men fighting against wild beasts.

In short, the Reds, by taking up arms, marching against towns, taking prisoners the authorities, slaying soldiers, pillaging public money, destroying private property, ravishing women, and burning children alive, have of themselves denounced themselves to the legal authorities, honest persons, and the armed force.

In the departments each knows everybody within a radius of three or four leagues extent. These malefactors, organised, directed, made tools of, and, finally, abandoned by the Montagnards, will be hunted after, pursued, tracked and arrested, one by one, whithersoever they may seek refuge ; and if aught of commiseration be due to weak-minded and thoughtless persons, there is, there can be none, for the instigators, the ring-leaders, who have caused innocent blood to be shed, and committed a horrid outrage upon the whole of society.

The secret societies at Paris had not, according to the most accurate calculations, upwards of from 3,000 to 3,500 recruits upon their lists, who were really to be dreaded and ready to fly to arms. The measures taken since the 2nd of December will have resulted in the destruction or capture of this army of Communism.

The loss of the sections, behind the barricades, must have been enormous, surpassing even the number of those who fell during the days of June ; and again, the arrests, which already exceed 600, and continue at the average rate of 40 per diem, must thin, to a singularly considerable amount, the ranks of the insurrectionists. It may be estimated that a few days hence the whole of the active and fighting portion of the secret societies will be in custody.

The final results of the President's conduct will be the deliverance of France from the tyranny of factions, the restoration of her liberty, sovereignty, and repose ; the opportunity of purging efficaciously, and once for all,

the country from those corrupted and dangerous men who constituted the army of Socialism, and of having opened for the country an era of true liberty, repose, confidence, industry and comfort.

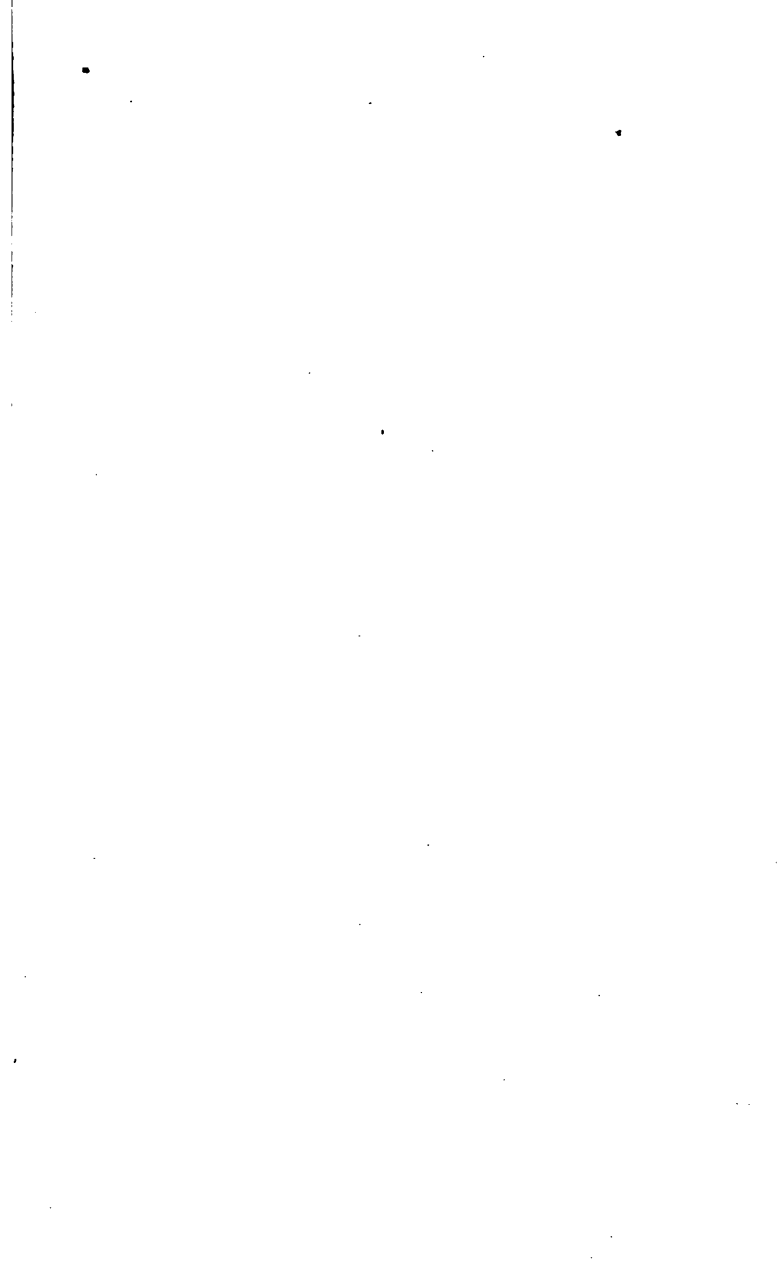
The material result of the act of the 2nd December may be expressed by arithmetical calculation:

On the 1st of December the 5 per Cents. were at 91f. 60.

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Thus there has been a rise of nearly 10 francs, or, in other words, an increase by one-tenth of public and private fortune !





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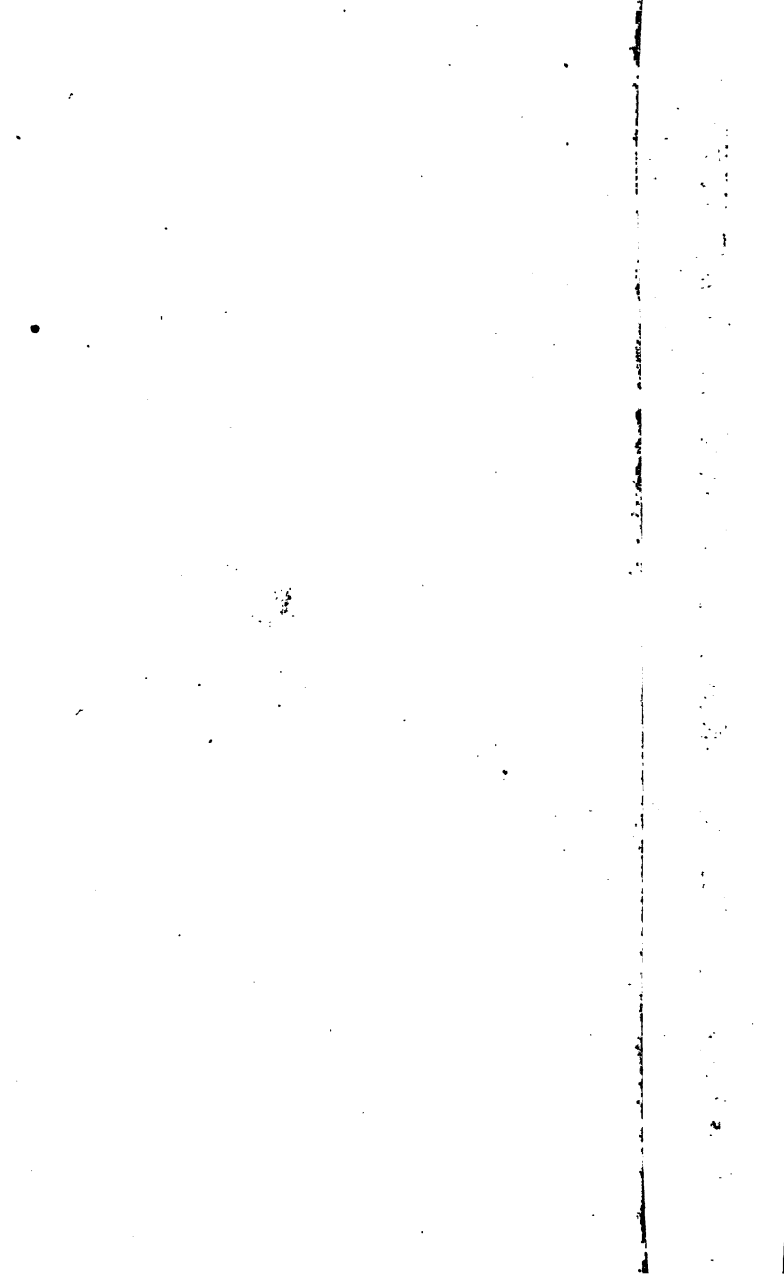
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